

12. THE TRANSMISSION OF FLORUS OF LYONS' *EXPOSITIO EPISTOLARVM BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI*.

STATE OF THE ART AND NEW RESULTS

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INTRODUCTION

The *Expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli ex operibus sancti Augustini* is a line-by-line Carolingian commentary on the Pauline Epistles. The commentary takes the form of a monumental anthology consisting of 2218 fragments, sourced from the works of Saint Augustine.¹ It was compiled around the middle of the ninth century by Florus of Lyons († after 855), deacon of the Cathedral of Lyons, curator of its library and acclaimed scholar and textual critic.²

Florus' *Expositio* is part of the generic category of Augustinian anthologies, which came into being very early on, possibly even during Augustine's lifetime. These anthologies took the form of short *sententiae*

¹ L. De Coninck, B. Coppieters 't Wallant, R. Demeulenaere, 'Pour une nouvelle édition de la compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'apôtre', *ReBén* 119 (2009) 316–35 (here 316).

² C. Charlier, 'Florus de Lyon', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et mystique Doctrine et Histoire* t. 5: Faber-Fydt, Paris: Beauchesne, 1964, col. 514–26. Further biographical information on Florus of Lyons can be found in M. Cappuyns, 'Florus de Lyon', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, t. 17, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1971, col. 648–54 and in K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenschriftsteller und Publizist. Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter* 8. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 1999, 11–18 (with extensive bibliography on xi–xxx). For Florus' reputation as a scholar and a complete overview of his works, see Charlier, 'Florus de Lyon', col. 514–21.

such as the *Sententiae ex operibus S. Augustini* by Prosper of Aquitaine (fl. 420–450 [CPL 525]), or longer fragments, such as the *Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini* by Eugippius of Lucullanum (fl. c. 509 [CPL 676]). The latter type includes a number of florilegia in the form of Pauline commentaries composed entirely of Augustinian excerpts. Precursors of Florus' *Expositio* included a compilation-commentary by a certain Peter of Tripoli that is mentioned in the first book of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, but has not been preserved, as well as the *Collectio ex opusculis S. Augustini in epistulas Pauli Apostoli* of the Venerable Bede (672/ 3–735).³ Bede's *Collectio* was used by Florus as a source for numerous fragments in the *Expositio*.⁴

The *Expositio* has the conventional structure of a compilation-commentary. Each Pauline verse (or combination of verses) that is commented upon, is presented as a lemma and is followed by a commentary in the form of one or more excerpts from Augustine's oeuvre.⁵

³ Petrus abbas Tripolitanae provinciae sancti Pauli epistulas exemplis opusculorum beati Augustini subdasse narratur, ut per os alienum sui cordis dederaret arcanum, quae ita locis singulis competenter aptavit, ut hoc magis studio beati Augustini credas esse perfectum. Mirum est enim si alterum ex altero diluideret, ut nulla verborum suorum adiectione permixta desiderium cordis proprii complere videretur. Qui uerbis inter alios codices diuina gratia suffragante de Africana parte mittendus est. (Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.8.9: R.A.B. Mynors, ed., *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961, 30). The *Institutiones* were written ca. 560 and revised around 580.

⁴ See P.-I. Fransen, 'Description de la collection de Bède sur l'apôtre', *Revue* 71 (1961) 22–70. The exact extent of Florus' dependence on Bede remains unclear. Elsewhere, Fransen offers a first indication: 'sur les 459 extraits que compte la compilation de Bède, 169 se retrouvent dans Florus' (P.-I. Fransen, 'Le florilège augustinien de Florus de Lyon', in *Saint Augustin et la Bible Actes du colloque de l'université Paul Verlaine Metz* (7–8 avril 2005) ed. G. Nauroy & M.-A. Vannier. *Recherches en littérature et spiritualité* 15. Bern: Lang, 2008, 313–24, quotation from 322 n.7). A critical edition of the *Collectio* which will provide detailed information on the relation between Bede and Florus, is currently being prepared by Nicolas De Maeyer at KU Leuven. For a description of the transmission of Bede's *Collectio* cf. G. Partoens, 'The manuscript transmission of Bede's Augustinian commentary on the Letters of Saint Paul', in *La trasmissione dei testi patristici latini: problemi e prospettive* ed. E. Colombi. *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 60. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012, 201–51, and J. Delmulle, 'La Collectio in Apostolum de Bède le vénérable: tradition manuscrite, codicologie et critique d'authenticité', *Scriptorium* 70 (2016).

⁵ For more information on Florus' method as a compiler, see C. Charlier, 'Les

As Florus himself indicates in the prologue to the *Expositio*, only a few verses are not part of the commentary.⁶ He employed a wide array of high-quality sources, including over seventy different Augustinian works (some of them consisting of many individual texts, such as the *Sermones ad Populum* [nearly 150], the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* [over 120], the *Tractatus in euangelium/ epistolam Iohannis* [almost 100] and the *Epistolae* [over 50]). As far as we know, the enormous compilation quotes from only four works now considered to be apocryphal: the *Altercatio cum Paganis*,⁷ and Caesarius' *Sermones* 177 and 180,⁸ all taken from Bede's *Collectio*, and *Contra Felicianum Arianum de unitate Trinitatis*.⁹ This attests to Florus' legendary critical sense.¹⁰

manuscripts personnels de Florus de Lyon', in *Mélanges E. Poethard. Études de sciences religieuses offertes pour son éméritat au Doyen honoraire de la Faculté de Théologie de Lyon*, Lyon: Facultés catholiques, 1945, 71–84; S. Boodts, 'Florus of Lyon's *Expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli* and the transmission of Augustine's *Sermones ad populum*, in *On Good Authority. Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. R. Ceulemans & P. De Leemans. *LECTIO Studies 2*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 141–55; S. Boodts, 'The reception of Saint Augustine in Florus of Lyon's *Expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli*. The section on Romans 7', in *Actes du Colloque international sur la controverse Cardingienne sur la prédestination. Histoire, textes, manuscrits* (Paris, 10–11 octobre 2013), ed. J. Delmulle, P. Chambert-Protat et al., Paris, 2016.

⁶ In qua expositione licet nonnulla ex uerbis Apostoli omissa uideantur, tamen Deo auxiliante et per doctorem mirabilem mirabiliter agente quaecunque difficilia, profunda uel excellentiora ibi inueniuntur, tam diligenter paene omnia et praestare tractata sunt, ut diuina gratia aspirante pio et prudenti ac studioso lectori sufficere possint ad instructionem doctrinae ad exercitationem ingenii et ad ea quae intermissa sunt, facilius inuestiganda atque in quantum Dominus aduerit, penetranda (Troyes, BM, 96, fol. 1v). See also Charlier, 'Florus de Lyon', col. 523.

⁷ Fragments 568 and 40 in the sections on 1 Cor. 16:22–4 and Phil. 2:6–7 (PL 33, col. 1159–60); see also the modern edition of H. Müller, D. Weber and C. Weidmann (*Collatio Augustini cum Paganis. Einleitung Text, Übersetzung mit Beiträgen von H. C. Brenneke, H. Röcher und K. Vösing* Vienna: ÖAW, 2008), and P.-I. Fransen, L. De Coninck, B. Coppieters 't Wallant, R. Demeulenaere, ed., *Flori Lugdunensis Expositio in epistolas beati Pauli ex operibus S. Augustini. Pars III. In epistola secundam ad Corinthios. In epistolas ad Galatas, Ephesios et Philippenses*. CCCM 220B. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, 486–7.

⁸ *Sermo* 177 occurs in fragment 559 in the section on Rom. (CCSL 104, 719 [13–18]); *Sermo* 180 in fragments 70, 71, and 75 in the sections on Eph. 4:25 and 27 (CCSL 104, 730 [3–6, 7–10]–731 [5–8]; 731 [11–13]; 731 [14–19, 21–8]).

⁹ Fragment 26 in the section on 1 Cor. 1:17 (PL 42, col. 1158).

¹⁰ As Lambot observed :

Moins encore que l'antiquité, le moyen âge était capable de distinguer le vrai du faux.

Over the centuries the *Expositio* was attributed to several scholars, in particular Bede from the twelfth century up to the printed editions (see below).¹¹ Initial arguments in favour of the attribution to Florus of Lyons were offered by Jean Mabillon in 1675 and André Wilmart in 1926.¹² The definitive argument proving Florus' authorship was furnished by Célestin Charlier in 1945: of some one hundred surviving patristic manuscripts that belonged to the Cathedral Library of Lyons around 850, several contain marginal and interlinear annotations delimiting passages that show a perfect accordance with excerpts in florilegia and other works traditionally attributed to Florus (including the *Expositio*).¹³

La presque totalité des lecteurs ne se doutait même pas qu'un sermon muni du nom de saint Augustin pût lui être totalement étranger. Un Florus de Lyon est une exception. Je ne vois pas qu'il ait inséré dans son Florilège augustinien sur les Épîtres de saint Paul un seul extrait qui ne fût authentique, et pourtant il puisait dans des sources qui n'étaient pas toutes sans mélange' (C. Lambot, 'Critique interne et sermons de saint Augustin', *Studia Patristica* 1 (1957) 112–27 [= *R&Bén* 79 (1969) 134–47]; quotation from 113).

Fransen also claimed that Florus worked '[...] sans qu'aucune œuvre apocryphe vienne contaminer les choix opérés' ('Le florilège augustinien', 319). The four counter-examples just noted show that these assessments are not entirely correct.

¹¹ J. Heil, *Kompilation oder Konstruktion? Die Juden in den Pauluskommentaren des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 6. Hannover: Hahn, 1998, 403–5, offers a chronological overview of the attributions in the manuscript witnesses. On Bede, see C. Charlier, 'La compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'Apôtre. Sources et authenticité', *R&Bén* 57 (1947) 132–86.

¹² A. Wilmart, 'Sommaire de l'Exposition de Florus sur les Épîtres', *R&Bén* 38 (1926) 205–14.

¹³ Charlier, 'Les manuscrits personnels', 73. Information on the source manuscripts can also be found in Charlier, 'La compilation augustinienne'; J. Bignami-Odier, 'Encore la main de Florus de Lyon dans un manuscrit de la reine Christine à la Bibliothèque du Vatican?', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 63 (1951) 191–4; L. Holtz, 'La minuscule marginale et interlinéaire de Florus de Lyon', in *Gli autografi medievali. Problemi paleografici e filologici*, ed. P. Chiesa & L. Pinelli. Quaderni di cultura mediolatina 5. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1994, 149–66; K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenschriftsteller*; A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk, 'Faut-il rendre à Tertullien l'Ex libris Tertulliani de exhereticois du manuscrit Vatican latin 3852? I. La composition et l'origine du Vat. lat. 3852: un dossier constitué par Florus de Lyon', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 46 (2000) 205–34; A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk, 'Florus de Lyon et le manuscrit Roma Bibl. Vallicelliana, E 26. Notes marginales...', in *La tradition vive Mélanges d'histoire des textes en l'honneur de Louis Hdtz*, ed. P. Lardet. *Bibliologia* 20. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003, 307–16; De

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION: STATE OF THE ART

Despite the *Expositio*'s regular appearance in scholarly studies and editions of Augustinian works, the project of producing its first critical edition has only recently been initiated.¹⁴ The final edition will occupy four volumes in the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (CCCM 220–220C); a first volume was published in 2011 by an editorial team directed by Luc De Coninck, who remains closely involved with the continuation of the project.

Although the *Expositio* has been preserved in a significant number of manuscripts, several of which date back to the ninth century (see below), De Coninck's edition was mainly based on only one of them: Lyons, BM, 484 (before 852, copied in Lyons), henceforth L.¹⁵ The reason for privileging this manuscript is that it has been identified as a partial autograph as well as the archetype of the transmission.¹⁶

The first volume of the edition does not provide the beginning of Florus' commentary, but instead contains the parts from 2 Corinthians to Philippians (hence its number 220B). The editorial team had two reasons for proceeding this way. Firstly, the beginning of Florus' commentary has been lost from the archetype L through fire damage; today the archetype only contains the sections from 2 Corinthians to Hebrews. Secondly, as Florus employs a very specific standard of punctuation and orthography,

Coninck, 'Pour une nouvelle édition'; L. Holtz, 'Le manuscrit Lyon BM 484 (414) et la méthode de travail de Florus', *ReBén* 119 (2009) 270–315; K. Zechiel-Eckes, 'Eine neue Arbeitshandschrift des Diakons Florus von Lyon. Der Kommentar des Ambrosius zum CXVIII. Psalm (Cod. Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur. Plut. XIV.21)', *ReBén* 119 (2009) 336–70. See also <http://florus.hypotheses.org/liste-de-charlier>, where P. Chambert-Protat provides continuing updates of Charlier's list, and <http://demos.bibliissima-condorcet.fr/florus/>, where, in the framework of BIBLISSIMA, a 'projet de reconstitution virtuelle de la bibliothèque de Florus de Lyon' is underway.

¹⁴ Articles devoted entirely to a description of (specific aspects of) the *Expositio* include Wilmar, 'Sommaire de l'Exposition'; P.-I. Fransen, 'Extraits non encore repérés dans la compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'apôtre', *ReBén* 113 (2003) 80–9; Fransen, 'Le florilège augustinien'; De Coninck, 'Pour une nouvelle édition'; Boodts, 'Florus of Lyon's *Expositio*'; Boodts, 'The reception of Saint Augustine'.

¹⁵ The 203 folia of this manuscript have to be completed with Paris, BnF, Baluze 270, fol. 72^{bis}–73v.

¹⁶ L. Delisle, *Notices sur plusieurs anciens manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon. Notices et extraits de mss. de la Bibl. Nat.*, 29. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1880, 402; Charlier, 'Les manuscrits personnels', 79; and especially Holtz, 'Le manuscrit Lyon BM 484', *passim*.

which he systematically introduced in the partial autograph and which the editors have translated to a modern system, the published section of the commentary was to serve as a guide for the edition of the other parts of the commentary. The whole of the commentary will be edited according to the following scheme:

Romans	lost from L	CCCM 220
1 Corinthians	lost from L	CCCM 220A
2 Cor.–Philippians	preserved in L	CCCM 220B
Colossians–Hebrews	preserved in L	CCCM 220C

To supplement the archetype L—which is absolutely necessary for the sections on Romans and 1 Corinthians as well as for those parts of 2 Corinthians to Hebrews that have become illegible because of fire damage—the scholarly tradition, including the first volume, has up to this point depended exclusively on Troyes, BM, 96, a manuscript of the middle of the ninth century from Saint-Oyen (Saint-Claude, Jura). This manuscript, henceforth T, is a complete, contemporary copy of L in its final state, containing (almost) all interlinear and marginal additions and alterations that were made in L during the process of creating and finalising the *Expositio*.¹⁷ Produced by Mannon of Saint-Oyen, one of Florus' closest disciples, this manuscript is a very satisfactory alternative to the incomplete archetype. The copy exhibits large dimensions, careful handwriting and corrections, and was apparently designed to become a reference work or a *copie de préservation*. Historically, also, the emphasis placed on T was not unfounded. Saint-Oyen, where the manuscript travelled shortly after its creation, was an important centre and Mannon of Saint-Oyen played a significant role in the distribution of Florus' works and the transfer of texts from the region of Lyons to Reims and other parts of Northern France.¹⁸

In an article preceding the publication of CCCM 220B, Luc De Coninck showed that T is indeed a very important manuscript, but that it cannot be the basis for the entire further transmission of Florus' commentary. De Coninck did this through two approaches: (1) comparison of the text of the section on 2 Corinthians in the archetype L on the one hand and, on the other, T, O (Orléans, BM, 83; Rom. & 1/2 Cor.) and G (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 281; 1/2 Cor.); (2) comparison of the annotated text

¹⁷ See A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk, 'Mannon de Saint-Oyen dans l'histoire de la transmission des textes', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 29 (1999) 169–243 (172).

¹⁸ Turcan-Verkerk, 'Mannon de Saint-Oyen' discusses in detail Mannon's role in the transmission of texts and includes a discussion of our manuscript T as well.

of the surviving source manuscripts from which Florus had borrowed fragments for his section on Romans (for which L is lacking) and that of the corresponding fragments in T, O, G and Laon, BM, 105 (Rom. & 1 Cor.).¹⁹

In what follows, we will take De Coninck's results further by both broadening the range of manuscripts—taking into account all of the commentary's pre-twelfth-century witnesses—and by specifying their mutual relationships as far as possible.²⁰ Our conclusions will be based on a collation of these manuscripts with the edition of De Coninck. The eventual aim of this research is to continue the project of the edition of the *Expositio*.

CATALOGUE OF THE PRE-TWELFTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

The *Expositio* has been preserved in more than seventy-five witnesses, many of which transmit only half or one-third of this extensive work.²¹ Only twelve of these witnesses were produced in the ninth to eleventh century. The transmission preceding the explosion of manuscripts in the twelfth century can thus be considered relatively narrow. The following list presents the pre-twelfth-century manuscripts, first by century, then alphabetically.²²

¹⁹ De Coninck, 'Pour une nouvelle édition', 331–4 (first approach); 334–5 (second approach).

²⁰ Though it remains possible that a valuable witness can still be found among the vast group of post-eleventh-century manuscripts, the stemmatical conclusions we reach below justify the elimination of this group of manuscripts from the investigation for the sake of economy.

²¹ 'La distribution Rom.–1 Cor., 2 Cor.–Hebr. est fort répandue; mais cette autre n'est point rare: Rom. 1–2 Cor., Gal.–Hebr' (Wilmart, 'Sommaire de l'Exposition de Florus', 206, with notes on some manuscripts and their divisions). Fransen, 'Le florilège augustinien', 317 offers a further option in three parts: Romans, 1 Corinthians, and 2 Cor.–Hebrews. This, however, is most likely to be based on the description of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 279–281 in Charlier, 'La compilation augustinienne', 136 n. 1, which is misleading in that it does not clarify that the original division was in four volumes of which one, containing Gal.–Col., was lost early on. See Fransen, De Coninck et al., *Flori Lugdunensis Expositio* xxvii n. 88. We would like to thank Luc De Coninck for bringing this to our attention.

²² The list was based on Heil, *Kompilation oder Konstruktion?*, 403–5, but with the addition of bibliographical information and our own corrections from further research. Heil wrongly adds Orléans, BM, 84 to his list of witnesses of the *Expositio*; this manuscript in fact contains Bede's *Collectio*. We have also included the twelfth-

Note: 'attribution' refers to the attribution to a compiler who differs from the author of the fragments, viz. Augustine; 'title' refers to a general title which applies to the entire work, not to the title which normally follows the prologue and applies only to the first section of the work, viz. *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi incipit expositio epistolae ad Romanos sancti Augustini episcopi*. References are to the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

The general prologue reads as follows: *In nomine Domini et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi. In hoc volumine continentur expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli collecta et in ordinem digesta ex libris sancti Augustini episcopi doctoris eximii et fidelissimi, sicut singuli suis locis adscripti sunt. In qua expositione licet nonnulla ex verbis Apostoli crassa videantur, tamen Deo auxiliante et per doctorem mirabilem mirabiliter agente quaecumque difficiliora, profundiora vel excellentiora ibi inveniuntur, tam diligenter perae omnia et praestare tractata sunt, ut divina gratia aspirante pio et prudenti ac studioso lectori sufficere possint ad instructionem doctrinae, ad exercitationem ingenii et ad ea quae intermissa sunt, facilius investiganda atque in quantum Dominus adiuverit, penetranda. Cui profecto nec prolixitas nec multiplicitas expositionis debet esse onerosa. Quae de hoc praecipue procurata est, ut sensus studentium magis magisque exerceatur legendi et intellegendi vivacius atque uberius instruat. (Transcription on the basis of Troyes, BM, 96, fol. 1v).*

Ninth-Century Witnesses

R *Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, G.III.2*

Origin: IX^{3/3}, Northern Italy, possibly Milan (Bischoff); IX^{3/3}, Brescia (Villa; Gavinelli); IX^{4/4} (Giovè Marchioli & Pantarotto).

Provenance Chapter Library of Brescia

Attribution, title, prologue anonymous; the space that was left free for a title on fol. 1r has never been filled; the ms. starts with the first fragment; the general prologue is absent.

Content: Rom.—Hebr. (fol. 1r–405v).

Bibliography: Villa (1969) 16–20; Bischoff (1998) 145–6 (no. 683); Gavinelli (2007) 270–1, 278–80 (with further bibliography); Giovè Marchioli & Pantarotto (2008) 43 (no. 61; with further bibliography).

century witness Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1059 (9358), since it seems to be a counterpart of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 283 (9369–70); the latter is not included in our collations as it does not contain the sections on 2 Cor. and Phil.

– **Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 105²³**

Origin: IX^{2/2}, Orléans or Auxerre (Contreni); IX^{2/3}, French Cathedral school (Bischoff: 'Nähe zum Original des Florus (Lyon, BM, Ms. 484 (414)) durch die Art der mg. Angaben biblischer Bücher').

Provenance Chapter Library of Laon.

Attribution, title prologue anonymous; no general title; the commentary starts with the general prologue.

Content: Rom.–1 Cor. (fol. 1r–184v).

Bibliography. Catalogue général (1849) 92–3; Contreni (1978) 35–6, 44–5; Bischoff (2004) 25–6 (no. 2073).

L Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale, 484 (414) + Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Baluze 270 (fol. 72^{bis}–73)

Origin: ca. 850, Lyons (partial autograph: Holtz).

Provenance Chapter Library of Lyons.

Attribution, title prologue anonymous; no general title; no general prologue (the sections on Rom. and 1 Cor. have been lost).

Content: 2 Cor.–Hebr. (fol. 1r–203v + 72^{bis}–73v; detailed description: Fransen, De Coninck et al., *Flori Lugdunensis Expositio* vii–x.

Bibliography. Bischoff (2004) 141–2 (no. 2565); Holtz (2009); Fransen, De Coninck et al., *Flori Lugdunensis Expositio* passim (with further bibliography).

See also the bibliography on <http://florus.bm-lyon.fr>.

O Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 83 (80)

Origin: IX^{2/2}, Fleury, Saint-Benoît (Samaran & Marichal); IX^{med.}, Tours (Bischoff: 'Mgg. z.T. von der Vorlage, Lyon, Bm, Ms. 484 (414) kopiert').

Provenance Fleury, Saint-Benoît.

Attribution, title prologue anonymous; no general title; commentary starts with the general prologue.

Content: Rom.–2 Cor. (p. 1–529).

Bibliography. Samaran & Marichal (1984) 213; Bischoff (2004) 335–6 (no. 3683); Pellegrin & Bouhot (2010) 97–8 (with further bibliography).

G St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 279–281

Origin: St Gall, during the abbacy of Hartmut (872–883).

²³ This manuscript is not included in our analysis because it does not contain the sections on 2 Cor. and Phil.

Attribution, title, prologue These are the only ninth-century witnesses that ascribe the anthology to Florus of Lyons. Titles: *In nomine Domini incipit Cōlletaneum Flori presbyteri ex libris sancti Augustini episcopi super epistolam beati Pauli apostoli ad Romanos* (ms. 279, p. 3), *In nomine Domini incipit Cōlletaneum udumen Flori presbyteri ex libris sancti Augustini episcopi in epistola beati Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios priorem* (ms. 281 [sq], p. 4). The general prologue is missing from ms. 279 (compare the situation in ms. R); no title is given in ms. 280 (see, however, p. 61: *Explicit explanatio epistolae ad Thessalonicenses industria Flori presbyteri Lugdunensis ex libris sancti Augustini cōlecta*).

Content: Rom. (ms. 279, p. 2–694); 1 Cor.–2 Cor. (ms. 281 [sq], p. 4–560); Thess.–Hebr. (ms. 280 [sq], p. 3–430). The original division was in four volumes of which one, containing Gal.–Col., was lost early on (cf. Fransen, De Coninck et al., *Flori Lugdunensis Expositio*, xxvii n. 88).

Bibliography: Scherrer (1875) 106; Villa (1969) 16–17; Bergmann & Stricker (2005) 521–2 (no. 217); Bischoff (2014) 321 (nos 5720–2). See also the bibliography on www.e-codices.unifr.ch.

T Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 96

Origin: written by Mannon of Saint-Oyen, disciple of Florus; c. 850 (Wilmart); before 880 (Samaran & Marichal); near the end of Florus' lifetime (Turcan-Verkerk 1999).

Provenance Saint-Oyen (Saint-Claude, Jura) (cf. fol. 1r: *V do bonae memoriae Mannonis liber ad sepulchrum sancti Augendi cōlatus* [see De Coninck et al. (2009) 328–9 n. 18; Turcan-Verkerk (1999) 198, n. 91–3]); Dijon; Bouhier.

Attribution, title, prologue anonymous; no general title; commentary starts with the general prologue.

Content: Rom.–Hebr. (fol. 1v–300r).

Bibliography: Wilmart (1926) 207; Charlier (1947) 168–86; Samaran & Marichal (1965) 455; Étaix & de Vrégille (1970) 27 n. 3; Fransen (1994) 85 n. 6; Holtz (1994) 156 n. 24; A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk (1999) 171–4, 178, 186–7, 198 (no. LXXXVIII); De Coninck et al. (2009) 328–35.

Eleventh-Century Witnesses

A Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 65/ 66

Origin: XI, Angers, Saint-Aubin.

Provenance Angers, Saint-Aubin.

Attribution, title, prologue anonymous; no general title; commentary in ms. 65 starts with the general prologue.

Content: Rom.–1 Cor. (ms. 65, fol. 1r–190r); 2 Cor.–Hebr. (ms. 66, fol. 1r–171r).

Bibliography: Catalogue général (1898) 210; Vezin (1974) 261–3 and *passim*. See also the bibliography at <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr>.

B Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, 126

Origin: XI^{inc}, Cluny (dedication verses by Odilo of Cluny on fol. 1v).

Provenance Part of a gift by Odilo of Cluny (abbot of Cluny in the years 994–1049) to Emperor Heinrich II (973–1023; hence the dedication verses on f. 1v); Chapter Library of Bamberg.

Attribution and title There is no general title; the commentary starts with the general prologue. The latter begins on fol. 2v (right column) and is preceded by a quotation of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* 1.8 (fol. 2r–2v), the chapter in which Cassiodorus mentions the Pauline commentary that was composed by Peter of Tripoli on the basis of Augustinian fragments. In the margin next to Cassiodorus' reference to Peter of Tripoli, a later hand has written: *Hic fundissimi Cassiodori narrat sententia cuius subsequens liber ex operibus beati Augustini sit collectus industria* (fol. 2r). In later times the dedication verses on f. 1v prompted the attribution of the commentary to Odilo himself ('Vorsatzblatt': *S. Odilonis abbatis Cluniacensis Commentaria in epistolas S. Pauli Apostoli*).

Content: Rom.–Hebr. (fol. 5r–278v).

Bibliography: Wilmarit (1926) 28–9; Leitschuh (1966) 106; Suckale-Reddelfsen (2004) 70–1. See also the bibliography at: <http://bsbsbb.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/~db/ausgaben>.

– **Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 283 (9369–70)²⁴**

Origin: XI.

Provenance Liège, Saint-Laurent.

Attribution, title, prologue no general title; commentary starts with the general prologue, in which an attribution to Florus has been inserted: [...] *in hoc uolumine continetur expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli a quodam Floro collecta et in ordine digesta ex libris sancti Augustini episcopi* [...]. This insertion is absent from all other manuscripts listed in the present article.

Content: Rom.–1 Cor. (fol. 6v–286v).

Bibliography: Van den Gheyn (1901) 152.

²⁴ This manuscript is not included in our analysis because it does not contain the sections on 2 Cor. and Phil.

X *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1059 (9358)*

Origin: XII.

Provenance Liège, Saint-Laurent.

Attribution, title prologue anonymous, no general title/prologue (the ms. starts with 2 Cor.).

Content: 2 Cor.–Hebr. (fol. 1v–171v).

Bibliography: Van den Gheyn (1902) 113.

M *Montecassino, Biblioteca della Badia, 39 C*

Origin: XI^{2/2}, Montecassino (Newton: 'It appears that a northern scribe brought his highly developed skills to the abbey and produced this volume here').

Attribution, title prologue anonymous; no general title; no prologue.

Content: Rom.–Hebr. (p. 1–587).

Bibliography: *Codex Casinensis* [...] *catalogus* (1915) 55–6; Newton (1999) 353.

N *Nîmes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 36*

Origin: ca. 1100, written by Robertus, Abbot of the Abbey of Lagrasse (from 1086 until 1108).

Provenance Abbey of Lagrasse; Geor. Paviot; François Massip; Jean-François Séguier.

Attribution, title prologue anonymous (on f. 2r a later hand [?] ascribes the commentary to Peter of Pavia [not to Peter of Tripoli]: *Petrus abbas Papie hunc librum exēpsit ex libris sancti Augustini, monasterii Cēi aurē*); no general title; commentary starts with the general prologue.

Content: Rom.–Hebr. (fol. 2r–207v).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général* (1885) 545–7; Samaran & Marichal (1968) 339. See also the bibliography at <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr> as well as www.e-corpus.org (reference: B301896101_MS0036).

V *Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4950*

Origin: ca. 1100, Nonantola, San Silvestro.

Provenance Pietro Damiani; Fonteavellana; Cardinal Sirleto.

Attribution, title prologue originally no attribution; later additions on fol. 1r and 234v attribute the commentary to Peter of Tripoli (for the erroneous attribution of this specific manuscript, which is still defended by some scholars today, see Partoens (2012) 202–4 [with further literature]); no general title; no prologue (the ms. starts with 1 Cor.).

Content: 1 Cor.–Hebr. (fol. 1r–232r).

Bibliography: Branchi (2011) 249–50 (with further bibliography).

Most of the above witnesses do not identify Florus as the compiler of the work: in most cases, no author or creator is mentioned at all, not even in T, whose copyist was a personal acquaintance of the deacon of Lyons. This initial anonymity probably explains why tradition has often ascribed the work to Peter of Tripoli or the Venerable Bede.

The attribution to Peter of Tripoli is based on Cassiodorus' reference to the latter's Pauline commentary in the *Institutiones*.²⁵ This attribution is found in manuscripts B, where the commentary is preceded by the relevant chapter from Cassiodorus, and V, where the attribution was clearly introduced at a later date. The attribution to Peter of Pavia from the famous monastery of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, which was introduced probably by a later hand in N, seems to be a further development of the attribution to the Italian's north-African namesake. Since Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* were well read during the Middle Ages and the attributions in N and V seem to have been introduced by later hands, the references to Peter of Tripoli/Pavia in B, N and V do not constitute an argument in favour of some special relationship between these manuscripts.²⁶

It is noteworthy that the attribution to the Venerable Bede is completely absent from the oldest manuscripts, but occurs frequently from the twelfth century onwards. This phenomenon, which goes hand in hand with the explosion of the witnesses to the *Expositio* in the twelfth century, can probably be explained by the fact that the transmission of Bede's Pauline commentary, which had known some popularity in the Carolingian period, had almost come to a standstill from the tenth century onwards.²⁷

²⁵ Quoted in note 3 above.

²⁶ For the wide dissemination of the *Institutiones*, see L.W. Jones, 'The Influence of Cassiodorus on Mediaeval Culture', *Speculum* 20 (1945) 433–42 and the list of witnesses in Mynors, *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, x–xlix. The earliest preserved manuscripts date from the eighth century.

²⁷ Six or seven of the twelve extant direct witnesses to the *Collectio* can be dated to the Carolingian period. These are: Cologne, Dombibliothek, 104 (IX^{1-2/4}); Orléans, BM, 81 (78) (IX^{1/3}); Orléans, BM, 84 (81) (IX^{2/4}); Rouen, BM, 147 (A 437) (IX); Saint-Omer, BM, 91 (IX¹); Würzburg, Universitätsbibl., Mp. th. f. 63 (IX^{2/3}); Florence, BML, San Marco 648 (IX–XI). Four witnesses date from the eleventh and twelfth century: one is an abbreviation (Boulogne, BM, 64 (71) [XII^{inc.}]); two were written in the monastery of Allerheiligen at Schaffhausen (Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibl., 64 [XII^{1/2}] and 65 [XII]); the fourth is Monte Cassino 178 (1075–80).

This was possibly due to competition from more extensive Carolingian commentaries, some of which had incorporated large parts of Bede's compilation: these include Florus' *Expositio*, the anonymous commentary on Romans in Paris, BnF, lat. 11574, and Hraban Maur's commentary on the Pauline Epistles.²⁸ Bede's Augustinian commentary on Paul was well known because of its description in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.²⁹ However, since it had almost stopped circulating, it may easily have been identified with Florus' *Expositio*, which formally corresponded to the description in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and had started circulating widely.³⁰

NEW STEMMATICAL RESULTS

A comparison of the section on 2 Cor. in **L** with all other pre-twelfth-century witnesses

As noted above, Luc De Coninck has shown—against a common assumption that had never really been proven—that T is not the hyparchetype on which the *Expositio*'s entire transmission depends (with the exception of L). Part of his argumentation consisted of a careful

One direct witness from the fifteenth century is of no importance for present purposes: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urb. lat. 102 (between 1474 and 1482). See Partoens, 'The manuscript transmission', 216–24.

²⁸ In addition, Lupus of Ferrières and Hincmar of Reims mention Bede's commentary with admiration. See Partoens, 'The manuscript transmission', 207–9 (Florus' *Expositio*); 207 n. 22 (Paris, BnF, lat. 11574; on this compilation, see also P.-I. Fransen, 'Traces de Victor de Capoue dans la chaîne exégétique d'Hélisachar', *ReBén* 106 (1996) 53–60; P.-I. Fransen, 'Le dossier patristique d'Hélisachar: le manuscrit Paris, BNF lat. 11574 et l'une de ses sources', *ReBén* 111 (2001) 464–82; M. Gorman, 'Paris Lat. 12124 (Origen on Romans) and the Carolingian commentary on Romans in Paris Lat. 11574', *ReBén* 117 (2007) 64–128); 207 n. 23 (Hraban Maur); 207 n. 25 (Lupus of Ferrières, ep. 76 ad Hincmarum); 207 n. 26 (Hincmar of Reims, *De predestinatione & libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio* 1).

²⁹ Hist. eccl. 5.24.2: In Apostolum quaecumque in opusculis sancti Augustini exposita inveni, cuncta per ordinem transcribere curavi (M. Lapidge, P. Monat, P. Robin, *Beda Venerabilis, Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais = Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* SC 489–91. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005, 491).

³⁰ According to the overview in Heil, *Kompilation oder Konstruktion?*, 403–5, the attribution to Bede is found in the following twelfth-century witnesses: Cambridge, Trinity College, 119; Munich, BSB, Clm 4516; Oxford, Balliol College, 178; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodl. 317; Paris, BnF, lat. 17452; Reims, BM, 122; Saint-Omer, BM, 51; Valenciennes, BM, 87.

comparison of the text of the section on 2 Cor. in L, T, O and G, which proved that the latter two witnesses cannot possibly depend on T. De Coninck found 24 *la* in the section on 2 Cor. in which T differed from L, and investigated the more significant cases. The following apparatus, which presents all the variants explicitly discussed by De Coninck, shows that the same conclusion can be drawn for all other pre-twelfth-century witnesses:³¹

2 Cor. 40.6 ad R L O G A B M N V] in T X (Vulg); 70.13–14 qua
 æquabimur R L O A B M N V] qua æquabitur G ^{pc al. manu} T X,
 quæquabitur G ^{ac}; 122.4 a parte L O G A B X M V] aperte R T (~~de~~ N);
 137.25 autem R L O G A B X M N V] om T; 180.3 quanto R ^{pc} L O G
^{pc al. manu} A B X M N V] quando R ^{ac} G ^{ac} T; 191.3 enim L O B] etenim R
 G T A X M N V (Vulg); 193.2 agit R L O G ^{pc al. manu} A B X N V] ait G
^{ac} T M; 197.59–60 mundicordes L ^{ac} O G ^{ac} T N] mundicorde L ^{pc} G ^{pc}
 M, mundo corde R A B X V (Vulg)

A full collation of fifty fragments in all pre-twelfth century witnesses. Moreover, a collation of the available pre-twelfth-century witnesses for fragments 1–25 of the section on 2 Cor. (CCCM 220B, 5–24) and fragments 83–111 of the section on Phil. (528–549), has enabled us to draw some further conclusions:

(1) Our collations yielded the immediate observation that in its early stage—i.e., the second half of the ninth century—the *Expositio*'s transmission is very faithful and meticulous, with few variants. In the sections we have collated, every fragment that has been added in the margins of L is found in all our witnesses; no fragments were purposely or accidentally omitted. Several witnesses testify to careful correction, showing that the copyist or a close contemporary reread the text, filtering out small mistakes. The dearth of common errors in the early stages of the transmission makes it harder to position the eleventh-century witnesses in the stemma.

(2) A few minor variants in Phil. 83–111 confirm, again, that T was not the basis of the entire manuscript tradition (with the exception of L):³²

³¹ De Coninck, 'Pour une nouvelle édition', 330–4. One additional variant he also discussed, but which is not relevant for the purpose of our apparatus above is 2 Cor. 4.15 sine O G T] om ~~per homocordum~~ L. De Coninck concluded that this obvious error in L was easily corrected independently and thus did not constitute any indication of kinship ('Pour une nouvelle édition', 331).

³² For Montecassino, Biblioteca della Badia, 39 C we only had access to

Phil. (*def. O G*) 83.30 *separemini* R L ^{pc} A B N V] *separamini* L ^{ac} T, *def. X*; 92.4 *unde* R L A B X N V] *inde* T; 95.1 *fraudari* R L A B X N V] *fraudare* T; 104.13 *sibi* R L A B X V] *si* T N; 106.29 *gaudes...gaudes* R L A B X N V] *gaudens...gaudens* T; 107.9 *congruas* R L A B X N V] *congrues* T; 108.21 *hominem* R L A B X N V] *homine* T; 108.23 *posset* R L A B X N V] *possit* T

(3) The close relationship between R and G has been identified in the past on the basis of the overall composition of these witnesses and explained with reference to the close links that existed in the second half of the ninth century between the bishops of Brescia and the abbey of Reichenau and St Gall.³³ This is now confirmed in three ways: (a) two variants, shared with the north Italian manuscript V, and one, which can be found also in V and X:

2 Cor. 7.4 *humani*] *humanam* R G V; 16.18–19 *responderet mihi*] *inu.* R G V; 25.3 *enim*] *on* R G X V.

(b) a compositional feature which will be dealt with in detail below, namely the inversion of the order of fragments 35 and 36 in the section on 2 Corinthians. This phenomenon is uniquely encountered in R, G and V; (c) the title of 2 Cor. 60.1. R and G both repeat the title of the previous fragment (*ex libro de gratia et libero arbitrio*) instead of the correct title (*ex libro de natura et gratia*). This caused V to use the formula *item ex eodem* as the title for fragment 60. Of these three witnesses, the text of R is closest to that of L, while G and V have more individual mistakes. With regard to manuscript X, it should be said that it shares a few errors with V in our sample from the section on 2 Cor., but none for the fragments collated of Phil.³⁴ In our stemma below, we have added V to the Carolingian pair R G, but preferred to not include X in this group because its position remains more obscure.

reproductions of the section on 2 Cor., so it is not included in this apparatus.

³³ Cf. C. Villa, 'La tradizione delle «Ad Lucilium» e la cultura di Brescia dall'età carolingia ad Albertano', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969) 9–51 (14–17, 51); S. Gavinelli, 'Tradizioni testuali caroline fra Brescia, Verelli e San Gallo: il De civitate dei di s. Agostino', in *L'antico e il moderno. Carte Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Billanovich*, ed. A. Manfredi & C. M. Monti. Medioevo e Umanesimo 112. Roma-Padova: Antenore, 2006, 263–84. See the summary in De Coninck, 'Pour une nouvelle édition', 331 n. 24.

³⁴ 2 Cor. 4.10 *esse*] *on* X V; 13.6 *sumus*] *deo add.* X V; 14.7 *fragrat*] *flagrat* X V; 15.14 *periebant*] *peribant* X V.

(4) We can posit with certainty a hyparchetype for M and N, which regularly share exclusive errors. The most telling of these are:

2 Cor. 9.5 *sobria ebrietate*] *sobri&tate* M, *sobrietate* N; 16.9 *alios*] *om* M N; 19.14 *et resurrectione*] *om* M N; 20.18 *beatus*] *bonus* M N; 25.11 *uolumine*] *lumine* M N.

The hyparchetype of M and N had source identifications, but many—though not all—are absent from N while in M they are often illegible in our images. Both manuscripts contain a relatively large number of individual variants. For example, M contains one extended *saut du même au même* where the beginning of a fragment has disappeared (2 Cor. 13.1–11 *ex-idoneus*). N shares a *saut du même au même* with G (2 Cor. 23.18–19 *sed-nobismetipsis*) which, given the fact that the connection between M and N has been amply proven and M does have the full text, must have been made independently in N and G. This is not unlikely: N shares another *saut* (2 Cor. 2.2–3 *humilis-placere*) with O^{ac}.

(5) O has a text that is definitely not far removed from that of the archetype L. The manuscript from Fleury shares the transposition of the title (*ex libro suprascripto*) of fragment 9 on 2 Cor. to fragment 8, which originally had no title, with codex A, of which it is a possible ancestor.³⁵ However, as O has a few errors in the titles that are not present in A, it is likely that somewhere between O and A, the titles were corrected using a different model. The only variants present in O that are not found in A do not pose a problem for this hypothesis:

2 Cor. 13.26 *ibi*] *sibi* O; 20.7 *spiritu*] *spiritus* O.

(6) Manuscript B, from Cluny, contains a great number of errors and is of no use for the edition. The manuscript shares a few variants with other witnesses without any evident pattern.

Three independent branches represented by *R*, *O* and *T*

In addition to T, two excellent witnesses with very few deviations from L have emerged from our analysis: R and O. In this section, we will offer evidence that suggests that these three manuscripts are representatives of three branches that rely on L independently from one another:

(1) The transmission of fragments 34–36 on 2 Cor. proves that R, G and V constitute an independent branch that depends on L without the

³⁵ B, X, and N have eliminated the title of fragment 9, but only O and A have repositioned it.

mediation of a hyparchetype shared with any of the manuscripts O T A B X M N. In the archetype L, the order of fragments 33–37 is as follows:

fol. 7v	expl. fragment 33	
	lemma for 36	2 Cor. 3:7b
	fragment 36	
	lemma for 34 and 35	2 Cor. 3:7a
fol. 8r	inc. fragment 34	
	expl. fragment 34	
	fragment 35	
	lemma for 37	2 Cor. 3:14
	inc. fragment 37	

This overview shows that the order of the fragments in L was originally erroneous. For this reason, a corrector—probably Florus himself—marked the beginning of both fragments 36 and 34 with a capital letter ‘M’. The end of the passage that had to be replaced before fragment 36 was marked with a cross between the explicit of fragment 35 and the lemma for fragment 37. Due to these instructions, fragments 34–36 follow each other in the right order in O T A B X M N.³⁶ This is not the case, however, in the branch represented by R G and V, where the erroneous order (36, 34, 35) has been changed into an equally mistaken series (34, 36, 35).³⁷ This new order was clearly caused by a misinterpretation of the signs introduced by the corrector of L, resulting in the transposition only of the fragments marked by a capital ‘M’ without noticing that the second element comprised not one but two fragments. This explanation presupposes a dependence of the group R G V on L, without an intermediate hyparchetype in common with any of the witnesses O T A B X M N.

(2) The critical apparatus offered in the Appendix to the present contribution is based on a full collation of L, R, O and T for the first 75 fragments on 2 Cor. (CCCM 220B, 5–69). This apparatus, which is complete with the exception of insignificant orthographical differences, shows that there are no significant common errors that link R either with O or T. This therefore confirms our hypothesis that R depends on L without the mediation of a hyparchetype shared with O and/ or T.

³⁶ The passages are found respectively in O, p. 469–70; T, fol. 165r–165v; A (ms. 66), fol. 6r–6v; B, fol. 156v; X, fol. 7r–7v; M, p. 340; N, fol. 115v.

³⁷ The passages are found in R, fol. 215r–215v; G (ms. 281), p. 449–51; V, fol. 90r–90v.

(3) The same critical apparatus proves that there is no reason to posit O and T as part of the same branch of the stemma. Both manuscripts contain their own specific errors and have each preserved marginal annotations copied from L that are lacking in the other. This excludes a dependence of O on T or vice versa. Moreover, there are no significant common errors that suggest that the dependence of both manuscripts on the archetype L is mediated by a common hyparchetype. It is thus highly likely that O and T each go back to L independently.³⁸

(4) A final illustration of the outstanding quality of these three witnesses and the proximity of their text to that of L is found in their preservation of a number of marginal notes which are identical in shape and style to those present in L. Marginal annotations would be among the first elements to disappear in the course of transmission, and Bischoff has already remarked on this as an indication of the closeness of Laon, BM, 105 to L.³⁹ The following examples of marginal annotations in R, O, and T provide additional proof that none of the three is directly dependent on one of the other two:

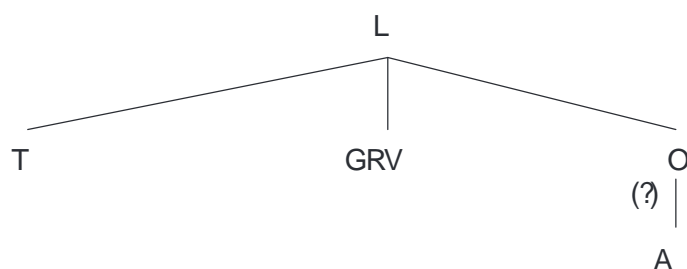
2 Cor. 180 approx. l. 20 '□' is found in R L T, not in O; 2 Cor. 186 approx. l. 5 a capital 'N' topped with 'o' and bisected by a vertical line (=nota-sign) is found in R L, not in T O; 2 Cor. 187 approx. ll. 87 and 102 capital letters in vertical order 'SNM' are found in R L O, not in T; 2 Cor. 197 approx. l. 14 'c□ l' is found in R L T, not O; Eph. 17 approx. l. 11 '□' is found in R L, not in T (def. O); Eph. 46 approx. l. 46 'c□ ll' is found in R L, not in T (def. O).

CONCLUSION

Our investigation has not so far provided an unambiguous and definitive stemmatical position for each pre-twelfth-century witness. We have demonstrated the close relationship between M and N, but cannot yet situate this group clearly within the global transmission. The latter is also true of manuscripts B and X. We have been able, however, to establish a clear stemma for the remaining witnesses:

³⁸ See the descriptions of the manuscripts on 261 and 262 above for suggestions in past research that they were copied directly from L without intermediaries.

³⁹ See the description of this manuscript on 261 above.



Moreover, we have shown that R and O are two excellent witnesses in addition to T.⁴⁰ All three of these manuscripts are faithful, meticulous copies that exhibit no indication of kinship other than their common dependence on L. It is likely that they are all three direct copies of the archetype (as has been suggested in the past for T and O).⁴¹ For the critical edition of the sections of the *Expositio* that have not been preserved in L (Rom. and 1 Cor.) a comparison between R, O, and T is thus virtually guaranteed to produce an accurate reconstruction of L.⁴² Since earlier palaeographical research has suggested that Laon, BM, 105—the only ninth-century manuscript that has not been studied in this paper, because it does not contain the sections on 2 Cor. and Phil.—might also be a direct copy of L,⁴³ an additional collation of this manuscript might be considered for the reconstruction of the archetype's lost sections on the first two Pauline Letters.

APPENDIX: VARIANTS IN **O**, **T** AND **R** FOR FRAGMENTS 1–75 ON 2 CORINTHIANS

1.13 fluxum] fluxu* R 15 est] om R || 2.1 xviii] XLVIII O 2-3 humilis-placere] om O^{ac} || 4.13 gloriandi] gloria dei O^{ac} 15 sine] ita R O T, om per homoarchon L || 5.1 sermone] sermo R || euangelii] LII add R (edittographia) 7 confingit] confingit* R^{ac}

⁴⁰ Instead of R, G could technically also be used. Both witnesses are dated to the same period, the final quarter of the ninth century, but G contains more individual errors, making its testimony slightly less valuable.

⁴¹ Cf. their respective detailed descriptions on 261 and 262 above

⁴² For titles and marginal identifications we must rely primarily on R and T, because O has a few mistakes here.

⁴³ B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004, 335–6 (no. 3683).

10 quis] quid R^{ac}, qui R^{pc} || 6.6 enim] om R || 7.4 humani] humanam R 12-13 contaminatione] contamina O^{ac} 14 quod] quot R || 8.1 omnes] ex libro suprascripto praem O (dr inscriptionem fragmenti IX) || 9.1. ex-suprascripto] om O (dr l. 1 fragmenti VIII) || 10.1 sermone] sermo R 10 spiritu] spiritum R || 12.5 iudicio] iudicia R^{ac} || 13.7 in omni loco] non leg R^{ac} 20-21 uiuunt-odore] om O^{ac} 25 quomodo-dignatur] om O^{ac} 26 ibi] sibi O || qui a] quia O 40 illum odorem] illu] modo rem R || 15.1 XLIII] XLII O 14 periebant] per*ant O 20 odorem] odore R || 16.9 odor] odr R^{ac} 10 bonos] bonus R^{ac} 18-19 responderet mihi] mihi responderet R || 18.5 corde] cor R 10 nobilitate] nobilate R 13 adhuc] ad R^{ac} || 20.3 adimplere] implere R 7 spiritu] spiritus O 13 digiti] digito O || 21.4 ait] dicit O 10 uoluntatem] uoluntem O^{ac} || 22.1 libro] ita T, II add R O (fortasseret), df. L (in quo margo maxime laesa est) || 23.9 celerrime] scelerime O^{ac} 10 anteuolent] ante uolunt R, anteuolant O^{ac} || moxque] mox quae R || 24.3 pietatis uiam et] pietati sui amet O^{ac} || 25.2 figuratam] figura] tam O^{ac} 3 enim] om R 6 cum] om R 29 qui] quia R^{ac} || 26.4 enim] om T^{ac} 6 ita] uita R^{ac} 11 cui] dII O^{ac} 14-15 quis ea] qui se O^{ac} 20 liberet] liber et R 24 quia apponit] ita L T, qui apponit R O 26 non] n O 30 quae] qua R^{ac} 33 nouitate] nouitatem R O 34 homine] hominem R^{ac} 40 decalogo] decalago T^{ac} 43 ob omni] a boni O^{ac} 53 aberret] aberet T^{ac} 57 adest] ad est O || 27.1 tit.] om R 5 sic uidet] si cuidet R 7 scientia] om R 15 seueram] se ueram T 17 multa] multi R || 28.9 gratia] grata O^{ac} || 29.2 uoluntatem] uoluntatem O^{ac} 8 hac] ac R 18 recteque] necteque O^{ac} 21 absurda] absurdum R 24 sapere] sapere R^{ac} 29 eoque] eo que O || 30.6 uincientibus] uincientibus R^{ac} 7 additus] additus R 7-8 si uos] suos O^{ac} 9 docendo] ita R T^{pc}, df. L, dicendo O T^{ac} (fortasse rete) 10-11 ut-saluatorem] om R 17 occidat] occidit R 18 dei] om R || 31.10 est] om T^{ac} || 32.4 adiuuat] adiuua R^{ac} 6 adest] ad est O 9 ad] a O^{ac} 22 ministratio] litteris add R^{ac} 25 spiritus] non leg O^{ac} || 33.7 gloria] gloriam R 11 dicta] data O 14 ignorans] a supra o R^{pc} 15 dictam] datam O 19 superbis] superbus O^{ac} 20 impliciti] impliati O^{ac} 22 hinc] *nc O^{ac} 23 malam] male O 31 et nimis] animis O^{ac} 38 nec qui] nequi R^{ac} || ut] uel R 50 sententia] scientia R 53 moxque] mox quae R 58 aliquando] om R 76 est] esse T 80 quod] quid R^{ac} 94 bonum] est add R^{ac} 95 dicit] df. L, dixit R O T (rete) 100 aut] ait R^{ac} 106 deformata] deforta O^{ac} || 34.4 dictum] est add R 7 est] om T^{ac} 10 nam] om O || 36.1 II] om R 3-4 intellecturi] intellectum R^{ac}, intellectui R^{pc} 6 sed] om R^{ac} 11-12 itaque illa omnia] illa omnia itaque O 11 itaque] ita quod T 13 quod eos] quo O 20 uetere] ueteri O || in] im T 27 habentes] habentes R^{ac} || 37.3 accipere sanguinem] sanguinem accipere O 8 os] om R 9-10 persecutoris] peccatoris R 10 sed] om O 14 tu a terra] tuaterra R 17 operari] operare T^{ac} 29 absconditam] abscondit* R^{ac} 30 quo] quod O 32 eius] ei R 32-33 sanguinem-transeuntibus] om R || 38.9 dei] df. L, domini R O T (rete) || 39.7 ablata] praem aliquid quod non leg R^{ac} || 40.4 uinum] unum R 5 ista] asta R^{ac} 6 ad] in T 9 auferretur] aufetur R || adoperationem] ad operationem O 12 omnes] omne O^{ac} || 41.6 mutatur] mittatur T^{ac} 7 uetere] uertere R^{ac} 8-9 qua expectabatur] qua*pectabatur R^{ac} 10 expectatur] expectaretur O || 42.2-3 autem] om R 6 in] ut R 9 dixit] dicit R 10 quae] ei add T || euacuantur] euacuatur R 14 imaginibus] inimaginibus R 19 non uident] inuident R || 43.3 esse] esset R 4 auferretur] auferetur R 8 eis] eius T^{ac} || 44.2 personam] persona* R^{ac} ||

ponebat] ponat T 5 faciem] facies R || 45.1 i] om R 5 dominus] deus O || 46.9 ad dexteram] adexteram R 11 ideo] adeo R^{ac} 13 domini²] et add O || 47.2 non] om R 4 reuelata] reuelat* O^{ac} 5 transformamur] transformemur O || 48.11 ab] a R 13-14 dicens] dicentes R^{ac} 15 imago] dei add O 19 gloria] gloriam R^{ac} 28 specie] a R^{sl}. 29 qua] quasi R^{ac} 31 gratia] gratiam R 34 fide] fid T^{ac} || 49.2 uelamen] uel praem R^{ac} 5 dicit] dixit R 6 reuelata] reuela T^{ac} 9 deficiamus] deficiamus O || 50.3 dicit] dixit O || hanc] haec R^{ac} 6 astutiam] astitiam R^{ac} 13 nosmetipsos] nonmetipsos R || 51.7 arbitrabitur] arbitrabimur R 10 putabit] putauit R 13 facientem] scientem R 18 sicut-omnia²] om O^{ac} 23 quo] quod R^{ac} T || 52.6 qua] qui R 7 ex eadem massa] eandem massam R^{ac}, eandem massa R^{pc} 9 re cognoscit] recognoscit O || 53.13 uenter] uent O^{ac} 16 saeculum] secundum R^{ac} 17 unde dicit] undicit T || praesenti] praes* T^{ac} 22 excaecauit] et praem R^{ac} || ita] ite R 33 enim] om O 36 et] om R 37 aedificatis] aedificantis O^{ac} 38-39 temporis] temporibus R || 54.1 libris] libro R 8-9 operatio] exoperatio O 9 quendam] quen T^{ac} 15 praemisisset] praemisset R 16 et] ita L^{pc} R O T, e L^{ac} 19 et] om T^{ac} 26 contumeliis] contumelias R^{ac}, contumelia R^{pc} 28 deus] om R 29 non] iterat R 30 excaecat] excaecauit R 34 uidet²] non praem R^{ac} 38 uerissime] curissime R 40 admiratus] ammiratus O^{ac} || 55.11 interuallum] inter uallum R 21 syllabae] syllabe R || praecedat] praecedet T^{ac} || 56.5 scriptum sit] scripsit T 7 ergo] om T 14 isdem] hisdem O || 57.8 aporiamur] aperiamur O^{ac} 9 deicimur] dicimur R || 58.2 a] om O 3 habitatore] habitore R^{ac} 6 credimus] credidimus R || 60.1 ex-gratia] ex libro de gratia et libero arbitrio R (fr inscriptionem fragmenti LIX) || 61.2 quo] quod O T^{ac} 4 nos] om R || uaria] uariata L R O T (rete) 16 apostolus] pro add T^{ac} 20-21 habentes] autem add R^{ac} || 62.1 ex-hilari] om R 3 credidimus] ita L, credimus R O T (fr. credimus in frgm LXI, ll. 17.19.21) 9 ueteri] uetere T^{ac} || 64.7 credimus] credidimus R 11 domini iesu] dñihu R || domini] nostri add T 14 libris] libri R^{ac} 19 dei] deus T^{ac} || 65.6 est] om R 7 quia] qui T^{ac} || quia²] qui T^{ac} 7-9 atque-credidit¹] om T^{ac} || 66.1 sermone] sermo R 10 creditur] enim praem R 13 is] his R || 67.3 praeditum] praedictum R^{ac} || ipse] ipsa O 6 dicat] ait O 7 noster] nrt T || 68.2 quoddam] quodam R^{ac} 18 spiritalibus] piritalibus O^{ac} 25 huiusmodi] in praem R 26 agentur] aguntur O 27 uersentur] uersantur O || expertium] expertia R 31 non] om O^{ac} || 69.5 eius] eis T^{ac} 6 interius est] interi O^{ac} 8 non] om T^{ac} 9 imaginem] imaginem O^{ac} 12-13 corpus-habet] om O^{ac} 13 sed] om R 22 renouatur] re* O^{ac} || autem] om R 24 ueterem] nouum O^{ac} 24-25 et-hominem] om R^{ac} O^{ac} 25 resurget] surget R 27 dignitatem] dignitate T || 70.5 quanto] quanta T 7 afflictionibus] afflictationibus O 13-14 aequabimur] aequabitur T || 71.2 sicut] sic R^{ac} 3 renouatio] renouata O 11 proficiendo] prociendo R 12 fit] sit R 20 transfert] transfer O || a] ad R^{ac} 22 caritate] caritatem R^{ac} 26 ab eo] habeo R^{ac} 28 hac] ac R 30 de] da T 36-37 apparuerit] paruit R || 72.3 hominis] nominis O, homines T^{ac} 6 fine] finea R^{ac} 9 noster] nrt R 10-11 nondum-renouatus] iterat O^{ac} 12 adhuc] ad hunc O 17 apostolus] apostolis R^{ac} || 73.3 annis] non leg T 6 sinu] sinum O 12-13 ordinatiusque] ordinatusque T 13 in uirum perfectum] iterat L R O T (rete) 16 omni ex] ex omni R 33 gerentium] gentium R 35 hominis] homi] hominis O || 74.4 illud] illum R 8-9 nobis-operatur] om O 14 habebis] habebis T^{ac} 15 quanto] quanti L R O T (rete) 22 perpetuo] pertuo T^{ac} || 75.4 ut] et O || uia] uiam R

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